

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 SALT T 00158 121559 Z

51

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00 INRE-00

/026 W

----- 052546

O 121525 Z APR 73

FM USDEL SALT TWO II

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1945

S E C R E T USDEL SALT TWO II 158

EXDIS SALT

DOD HANDLE AS SPECAT FOR SECDEF

E. O. 11652: XGDSI

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: COMMENTS ON APRIL 12 MEETING

1. AT THIS MORNING' S MEETING SEMENOV MADE LONG STATEMENT EXPLICITLY CONFIRMING THAT SOVIET POSITION IS FOR CARRYING THE PROVISIONS INCLUDING NUMBERS IN INTERIM AGREEMENT OVER TO PERMANENT AGREEMENT

WITH ADD ONS FOR BOMBERS AND " OTHER STRATEGIC SYSTEMS" ( READ FBS). ACCOUNT WOULD ALSO HAVE TO BE TAKEN OF SLBMS OF US NATO ALLIES. HE THEN MADE DETAILED " NEW CONSTRUCTIVE PROPOSAL" ON FBS, SETTING FORTH A " PHASED SOLUTION". FIRST PHASE WOULD CALL FOR CLOSING OF ROTA AND HOLY LOCH AND WITHDRAWAL OF SLBM SUBMARINES. IN SECOND PHASE, ATTACK CARRIERS WOULD BE WITHDRAWN TO BEYOND AGREED LIMITS. MISSILES WITH NUCLEAR WARHEADS CAPABLE OF STRIKING THE OTHER SIDE AND 50 PCT OF US NUCLEAR DELIVERY AIRCRAFT IN EUROPE RPT IN EUROPE WOULD BE WITHDRAWN TO NATIONAL TERRITORY AND CORRESPONDING BASES LIQUIDATED. IN THIRD PHASE, " ALL NUCLEAR DELIVERY AIRCRAFT CAPABLE OF STRIKING THE OTHER SIDE" ( PREVIOUS PHRASE " IN EUROPE" WAS NOT REPEATED HERE) WOULD BE WITHDRAWN AND CORRESPONDING BASES LIQUIDATED.

2. IN MY PRECEDING STATEMENT I HAD ONLY MADE A FEW COMMENTS ON HIS APRIL 10 STATEMENT ON NON- TRANSFER, REPEATING OUR APRIL 18, 1972 STATEMENT ON THAT SUBJECT AND SUMMARIZING OUR POSITION ON ESSENTIAL EQUIVALENCE, TOGETHER WITH MY APRIL 10 STATEMENT THAT IN ITS ABSENCE I DID NOT SEE THE POSSIBILITY OF REACHING A MUTUALLY  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 SALT T 00158 121559 Z

ACCEPTABLE PERMANENT AGREEMENT.

3. IN OUR PRIVATE CONVERSATION I SAID THAT WHEREAS IN THE PAST I HAD COMPLAINED ABOUT MY INABILITY TO UNDERSTAND THE NUANCES OF HIS STATEMENTS, TODAY HIS STATEMENT WAS CLEAR AND STARKLY POINTED UP THE FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES. I SAID THAT THE ESSENCE OF HIS PROPOSAL IN CARRYING OVER THE INEQUALITIES OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT AND COMPOUNDING THIS BY INCREASING THE ALREADY EXISTING ASYMMETRIES IN THE NON- CENTRAL SYSTEMS WAS UTTERLY AND ENTIRELY OUT OF THE QUESTION AS FAR AS THE US WAS CONCERNED. THIS WAS NOT A MATTER THAT COULD BE CURED BY NEGOTIATING MINOR CHANGES HERE AND THERE IN THEIR PROPOSAL, BUT RATHER A MATTER OF THE WHOLE BASIC APPROACH. I SAID MY PURPOSE WAS NOT TO ENTER INTO AN ARGUMENT NOR WERE MY STATEMENTS IN ANY SENSE MADE AS A BARGAINING TACTIC, BUT ATHER SO THAT HIS GOVERNMENT COULD CLEARLY UNDERSTAND POSITION OF USG. I SAID THAT THIS WAS NOT JUST A MATTER OF MY " ACTING UNDER INSTRUCTIONS," BUT MY READING OF FUNDAMENTAL ATTITUDE OF USG WITH RESPECT TO THESE NEGOTIATIONS AND MY OWN PERSONAL VIEWS WITH REGARD TO THEM. I SAID IT WOULD BE ENTIRELY OUT OF THE QUESTION FOR ME TO RECOMMEND ANYTHING APPROACHING ACCEPTANCE OF THE FUNDAMENTAL SOVIET POSITION. THERE WAS NO NEW SUBSTANCE IN HIS EXTEMPORANEOUS REPLIES.

4. WE AGREED ON NEXT MEETING TUESDAY, APRIL 17. IN MEANWHILE HE SUGGESTED " HEADS OF DELEGATION" MEETING EITHER FRIDAY OR MONDAY, AND I AGREED TO MONDAY, APRIL 16. JOHNSON

SECRET

\*\*\* Current Handling Restrictions \*\*\* EXDIS

\*\*\* Current Classification \*\*\* SECRET

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** Z  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** n/a  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 12 APR 1973  
**Decaption Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** garlanwa  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1973SALTT00158  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** RR  
**Errors:** n/a  
**Film Number:** n/a  
**From:** SALT TALKS  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1973/newtext/t19730441/aaaagyz.tel  
**Line Count:** 96  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE  
**Office:** ACTION SS  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 2  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** garlanwa  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 30 JAN 2002  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <30-Jan-2002 by collinp0>; APPROVED <14 FEB 2002 by garlanwa>  
**Review Markings:**

Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
30 JUN 2005

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** <DBA CORRECTED> gwr 971229  
**Subject:** COMMENTS ON APRIL 12 MEETING  
**TAGS:** PARM  
**To:** SECSTATE WASHDC  
SS  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005